5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
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to the fields after the early morning swim. They returned to the lodge at about eleven o'clock for the first meal, the other meal being around five in the afternoon. Men and women sat apart at mealtimes, the former being together in the west of the lodge and the women sitting east of the fireplace. Any food out of the ordinary, such as melons in season, was given to the men first. As a rule the children ate by themselves near the women and had to be content with what remained after their parents had finished. Where several families occupied a single lodge, each family in turn cooked for the others in the lodge. [The separation of the sexes at mealtimes is not entirely clear. The manuscript also contains the following statement: "The food was prepared in large quantities and divided among the families, each receiving a wooden bowl, and each member of the family eating from this bowl by means of an individual sheep-horn spoon."]

Corn was generally eaten mixed with beans, or sometimes boiled with the tops of milkweed. In the winter, the nests of ground rats were hunted and robbed of their stores of ground beans. Although most animals were eaten, especially the buffalo and deer, the Pawnee eschewed the meat of the wolf, coyote, otter, wildcat, and mountain lion. Certain other food restrictions also prevailed. Fish was prohibited to chiefs and medicine-men. The tender meat about the buffalo's anus was a prized delicacy of the old people, but tabooed for children, as the violation of this restriction would bring them failure in after years when they attempted raids on enemy villages. Nor were young men and girls supposed to eat the stomach of the buffalo cow. To do so would cause the former to receive many wounds on the warpath, while a girl ran the risk of falling in a hole and injuring her leg, if, in later life, she doubted the faithfulness of her husband and followed him to the lodge of another woman to whom she suspected he was paying improper attention.

When any of the men were away on a buffalo hunt, certain restrictions on conduct were imposed on those who remained at home. The lodge must be kept clean, especially the part about the altar. Just before mealtimes sacrifices of corn must be made to the skull on the altar. No menstruating woman could approach the skull, as it would anger the buffalo spirit that resided in the skull and cause the buffalo to elude the hunters. The people at home must always talk as though the hunters were having great success. Especially they should speak of consecrating buffalo sacrifices to

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the deities, for a sacrificed buffalo is reborn, and the buffalo, liking this, would approach nearer and nearer. In the absence of the hunting party dried buffalo meat could not be roasted, as the odor of the roasting meat would reach the animals and they might be frightened. However, the meat could be prepared by boiling.

In the inheritance of personal property, a woman theoretically had no rights. As a matter of fact, however, she was generally considered to be the owner of the lodge, the tipi, and her tools and utensils. Children did not inherit personal property such as robes, blankets, ponies, and saddle trappings, all of which were supposed to belong to the brother, though they were usually claimed by the sons of the deceased's sister.

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kill her, and after he had followed her a long distance she changed herself back into a woman. They lived together for several years. In the meantime it was thought that the man had been killed. Finally she accompanied him to his village as his wife, where she gave birth to twins, a boy and a girl. They grew up and took their proper places in the village. At first the deer wife disliked living in the village and often tried to run away, but afterwards she became reconciled and gave birth to other twins. Thereafter her descendants in the female line always gave birth to twins, and from this woman are supposed to be descended all the twins ever born among the Skidi.

Finally, it may be noted that no pregnant woman could come near the ceremonial contests where the medicine-men threw their medicine "arrows" at each other. Ordinarily she might be a very powerful medicine-woman and be able to protect herself from the "arrows" of her opponents, but during this period her thought and mind were on her child and consequently she could not ward off the "arrows," which would fly to her and kill her.

On the first indication of labor the husband left the lodge and did not return to his wife for four days, as his presence during this time was thought to increase the difficulty of birth. The husband continued to observe the restrictions on his conduct, such as abstention from hunting, which were in force during the period of pregnancy. Also he unbraided his hair and wore it loose, for it was believed that Tirawa wore his hair in this manner when he was creating the universe.

With the approach of labor the wife herself selected an old woman, who was usually a medicine-woman or the keeper of a sacred bundle, to be midwife. The latter came, bringing her medicine bag and a wooden bowl in which to wash the child. Sometimes the bowl was covered with representations of a dog, goose, deer, or some other animal, so that when the child grew up it would possess the magic power of the animal depicted. On arriving at the lodge, the midwife brought in some fresh earth and spread it upon the floor. Over this she put a thick covering of soft grass. The flow of blood following delivery could thereby be absorbed by the earth and grass and the whole easily removed. Next several parfleches were piled for a head-rest, and the pregnant woman was laid in the place prepared for her.

With the beginning of labor the mother was given some medicine by the midwife and told that it would relieve her and make for an easy birth. Should the woman give birth before the arrival of

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mother's hair, while the husband also braided his. If the midwife's services were no longer required she was given a gift, usually consisting of a bowl of corn, dried pumpkins, and perhaps a parfleche of meat.

Should a woman die in childbirth or shortly thereafter, the death was generally ascribed to the violation on the woman's part of one of the taboos, especially the drinking of water, which was prohibited from the first labor pains until four days after delivery. Children were never killed in case the mother died in childbirth. Infanticide seems not to have been practiced by the Skidi, and in fact all inquiries upon this point elicited astonishment that such a thing could be imagined possible. If the mother had died while giving birth, the child was taken care of by its grandmothers, generally the maternal grandmother.

Stillbirth was also considered to be the result of the mother's infraction of some rule restricting her conduct during pregnancy. In such cases the child was interred in the burial ground of the parents' village, though it was never given a name.

In olden times, at the first signs of pregnancy of the wife, the grandmothers notified the wife's relatives to prepare an elm baby-board and the husband's a board of cottonwood. After the child had been born and was about to be laid on the baby-board for the first time, a wildcat's skin was placed on the board and the child wrapped in clothing and put upon the skin. The midwife said: "I place you upon this board; (if a boy) you shall grow up to make many meat offerings to the gods; (if a girl) you shall grow up to increase, so that your children will do many things for the gods." The wildcat's skin was then wrapped around the child. This was equivalent to saying, "I wrap the child with the heavens," for the hide represented the sky and stars. At the time of this little ceremony the lodge was filled with both father's and mother's relatives, who had brought with them robes, ear-rings, and other presents of all sorts for the child. Friends were also happy over the birth and came, bringing additional gifts. The young couple was especially pleased if the old women took the baby in their arms, for they believed it would increase the child's chance of reaching old age and being blessed with offspring. A few days later, the gifts brought by friends and relatives were given away, usually to poor women who had had many children and grandchildren. Thus the parents expressed their own desire for sons and daughters.

Although the Skidi medicine-men claimed to be able to cause abortion by the use of roots, it was not attempted by married

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relatives were intimately concerned. The mother's brother paid much attention to the education of his sister's sons and daughters, in which, indeed, he took perhaps as much interest as their father. On the paternal side the children had what were known as children's rights in the father's sister's lodge. These were similar to the claims which children had upon parents, but in a sense entailed even deeper obligations, for though the children might be cast out of their parents' lodge, they could still claim food and shelter in the lodge of the father's sister. Next it should be noted that the father's sister's husband became the teacher and in some degree the guardian of his wife's brother's daughter, instructing her and looking after her interests. On the death of his wife, he might marry the girl, or even her daughters if she already had a husband.

It was not learned that there was any special custom observed when a girl reached her first menses, which usually occurred during her twelfth or thirteenth year. No recognition of the fact was made by the family or the tribe other than her mother or grandmother, unless she happened to be the daughter of the keeper of a sacred bundle. In this case the girl was removed to a little house, known as "place-sitting-with-blood," where she remained during her menstrual period with her grandmother. The girl neither bathed nor combed her hair and was not allowed to eat fresh meat, her food consisting chiefly of corn and pemmican brought by her mother. At the end of the period the grandmother took the girl to a creek, where they both bathed; the latter was then clothed with a new dress and was further purified by wrapping a blanket about herself and standing in the smoke rising from smoldering cedar leaves. Thereafter the grandmother took care of her in the same manner at each period of menstruation. When the girl married, she continued the custom but no one assisted her. The observance of this period was so far as possible always kept secret.

A menstruating woman was considered unclean, and the chief restriction placed against her was that she should in no way come in contact with the sacred bundles nor approach the objects contained in them. This restriction prohibited her from appearing at sacred bundle ceremonies. The reason seems to be based on the theory that the bundles and all objects of a religious nature carried with them their own odor, which was that of sweet grass. This odor was not only acceptable and pleasing, but it was essentially a non-human odor. The odor of the menstrual flow was considered a distinctly human odor and the presence of such a human charac-

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784 841 teristic at a bundle ceremony would distract the attention of the supernatural beings. If a menstruating woman were near a bundle spread out as an altar, the supernatural power supposed to reside in the objects on the altar would disappear; the corn mother would be corn mother no longer but simply an ear of corn, the bird messenger between the deities and man would become simply a bird skin, and so on. The odor of blood was pleasing to the gods, but not this kind of blood, which was associated with human passion. If a menstruating woman should go into a ceremony of the medicine-men, the strong human odor would cause the power of the medicine-men to leave them, and they would fail in their sleight of hand. The lodge where the ceremony was being held was for the time being an animal's lodge; it was full of animal power, over which each medicine-man was striving to make himself master. In this attempt he would fail should a menstruating woman be present, for she would cause him to become essentially human. What animal power he had would quickly desert him.

881 882 607 836 The custom in vogue when a girl reached puberty has been noted. When a boy reached this stage, there was no formal ceremony to mark the event. He was, however, taken in charge by his mother's brother's wife. From this time until his marriage, he maintained sexual relations with her, and entered a different stage immediately after having had intercourse with this woman. When her real husband was off hunting or on the warpath, the youth continued marital relations with her. Thus it might happen that for four or [595] five years a woman would have an additional "husband," or possibly three or four, with a temporary state of polyandry thereby prevailing. [834] No such custom as this existed for girls, as they were supposed to remain virgins until marriage.

882 291 Up to this time the boy went naked, except for a blanket or robe in cold weather. From then on he wore leggings, and otherwise dressed as a man.

857 A further word should be said as to the relationship of the sexes. Great freedom was allowed children, and it was their custom as they neared puberty to play the game of man and wife. They built small grass lodges which they furnished as were the lodges of their parents. 836 Should the parents, however, suspect that an improper relationship might ensue, the girls were more carefully watched or might be kept at home. Thereafter the only opportunity for the boy to see the girl would be at the spring or creek when the girl went for water, or he might see her by stealth in the evening near her lodge. Often this

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BREACHES OF THE DOCTORS' RULES

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The Young Doctor Decides to Eat Food at Altar —the Hypnotizing That Follows—the Younger Men Hypnotize Big Bear—This Power of Pawnees Discussed

After the third Big Dance, everyone was getting tired, especially the errand men. The individual doctors had various matters to attend to at home, and even the main doctors had to leave the lodge at some time during the day. One day the main doctors were all off resting and had left one of the younger doctors sitting in Big Doctor's place so that he could watch the things at the altar. While he was sitting there, a donation of corn and soup was brought in. Some of the other doctors in the lodge decided they would like to eat some of it right away. The young doctor at the west decided that, after all, since they were hungry, they should eat some of it. He asked three of the others to join him at the west and ordered the errand man to serve them and also the other doctors that were in their booths. They made a small offering of the corn to the powers and then proceeded to eat. 756 784

Finally, when some of the other doctors came in and found they had eaten some of the food that was donated for all of them, they became indignant. They went about the fireplace, quivering and waving their eagle-wing fans and hypnotized the offenders. Brave Shield who was the first to come in, hypnotized the man who had been left in charge of the things at the altar. He caused him to come around the north side of the fireplace and made him fall so that he hit his head against the pillar of the lodge. Then he made the offender get up and come outside and fall down, where he was left on the ground with blood coming out of his mouth. The other two doctors who had come in at the same time as Brave Shield, 756 784 787

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spirited out the others who had been eating the corn and also the errand man who had served them. They fell down outside in the same way as the first man. When the first recovered from his trance, he came inside and sat down in Big Doctor's place at the west. The other three also came out of their trance and resumed their places next to him. The others who had eaten the corn also began to recover and to run into their booths. Those at the west had not yet been dismissed by the angry doctors.

Brave Shield and the other doctors went back to their booths, but the young doctor at the west was angry in his turn and decided to take out those who had hypnotized him. He picked up the eagle-wing fan from among the sacred objects at the west and, going about the fireplace, spirited Brave Shield outside. He did the same to the other two. He then went back into the lodge and again sat down at the west, telling his three companions they could go back to their booths if they wanted to. The three he had spirited out now went back to their booths and the whole affair was ended. When Big Doctor heard about it on his return, he simply laughed at the whole affair.

Big Bear who was the errand man on the south side was absent from the lodge for about three days. Three of the younger men decided to get him to come back. The enterprise was initiated by Might-Be-Chief, son of Old-Man-That-Chief. He was about fifteen or sixteen years old at the time, and he was sent around on so many errands in Big Bear's absence that he began to resent it. "Big Bear ought to be doing this," he thought, "I'll get him back." Big Bear, on his part, was pretty tired by this time and wanted a rest. Might-Be-Chief tried to enlist help from two young men, Fox Chief and Man Chief, but Fox Chief demurred, saying, "He's our uncle. We can't do that to him." But they were finally persuaded by Might-Be-Chief's argument that he ought to be there, and they all went to Big Bear's lodge.

Big Bear was sitting on top of his lodge when they got there and they said, "Look at him—the way he sits there as if he had nothing to do!" Then all of them walked back and forth before his eyes and then all three waved fans in front of him until he rolled off the earth lodge. When he got up they made him follow them as they ran, pushing and twisting him around any way they wanted to. Finally when they got to the water they caused him to roll in and wet his buffalo robe and all his clothes. When he got home, he gave his clothes to his wife and dressed in whatever dry clothes he had and went back to the Doctor Lodge. He was furious and went straight to the Elk Booth spiriting Might-Be-Chief outside. Then he went to the Bear Booth and first took out Fox Chief, then coming back again for Man Chief. The three young doctors didn't mind, as they had succeeded in getting Big Bear back to his post in the Doctor Lodge.

Sometimes when a doctor went home at night he went to asleep with

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mercial metal to appear in this region was the Lower Loup sites of the 1600's where a few small fragments of sheet copper and bits of broken iron objects were found. In the protohistoric Pawnee villages of the 1700's, chipped-stone arrow points were plentiful and even in the 1830's in Old Village, they were fairly common. In the next thirty years they had gone out of use. A very characteristic Pawnee object is the diamond-shaped, bevel-edged knife of chipped flint known in archaeological circles as Harahey. By 1867 it had been entirely replaced with the metal knife bought from the trader. One of the early names for white people was "Big Knife."

Of the heavier objects of stone, the chipped, grooved stone mauls, axes, and polished celts of the protohistoric and historic archaeological sites had been replaced by the metal ax and hatchet. Two stone objects continued in use—sandstone buffers for smoothing the wooden arrow-shafts and the bowl of the pipe made of pipestone or Catlinite. The sandstone buffers came in pairs and were oval-shaped with a flat surface, each with a matching groove down the length, through which the shaft was pulled. Pipestone was a powdery red or black stone traded from southwest Minnesota where the quarry is located near the present town of Pipestone.

Most of the Pawnee crafts were highly specialized and their knowledge was confined to a limited number of people, who were reluctant to reveal their technical secrets. They were looked upon much as we regard electrical and mechanical skills in our present-day society.

The crafts had a respected place in the ceremonies and were part of ceremonial metaphor. In the ceremony of the Young Corn plant when the Young Mother Corn was being provided with her life, an expert arrowshaft maker was called in to fashion a shaft that would symbolize her body and particularly the windpipe, regarded by the Pawnees as the essence of life itself. When the arrow maker was cutting off the knots from the dogwood stick, they sang of "picking off the words" and when the shaft was drawn through the straightener, the squeaking noise was referred to as "rubbing the female voice." The process of fashioning the pipe stem for the calumet or peace pipe was also couched in poetic terms.

Nevertheless it is rather surprising that there were neither religious taboos nor ceremonial procedures connected with the actual practice of the crafts. Among the Polynesians strict taboos guard the conventional technical procedures against any variations. Among the Pueblos of the Southwest, basket making involves songs and taboos, while among the Plains-dwelling southern Cheyenne, there were organized craft guilds connected with many religious requirements. Sewing beadwork on skins was undertaken as a kind of religious vow—probably going back to older porcupine embroidery. If the work was not completed in the allotted